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as frequently as the others. In the two bands which favor the high moccasin, the possession of a pair of this type is a point of prestige: "The moccasin is worn high when you are able to have this kind. All people of influence had them this way." The seam line at the foot, especially on "dress" moccasins, is often painted red, the upturned portion of the toe may be variously painted, too, and sometimes the folded portion of the upper or the entire moccasin is colored with yellow ocher.

When the man is out hunting, raiding, or fighting, he wears a belt of buckskin or rawhide to which a knife sheath is attached, but in times of peace he seldom takes the trouble to don this when he is around camp.

After the spring ceremony the hair is allowed to grow. "We all wear long hair. A person doesn't dare cut his hair off with a knife. He has to take good care of his hair. To cut it brings bad luck. The only time you do that is when a member of your family has died." A man leaves his hair unbraided. He pushes it to the sides, out of his eyes and over his shoulders, and it is held in place by a band which crosses his forehead.

Yucca root, pounded, is used for shampooing the hair. "After washing the hair, they use fat on it to make it stick together. Also marrow from the shinbone of a deer is used for this purpose."

The faces of the men are smooth; all facial hair is plucked with the fingernails as soon as it is noticed, because "the Chiricahua don't like whiskers." There are exceptions, of course. "There is one man who has let his beard grow for good luck. He told me that when he was young he had a dream that he would have good luck if he let his beard grow. He is over sixty years old now and still has a moustache."

At times of dance and celebration a mixture of grease and red ocher is rubbed on the cheeks, and there are other face paints. "Paint is used for decoration when there is any gathering or dance. It can be put on at any time. Sometimes a person puts circles on each cheek; sometimes some other markings. A few put a streak of sticky mescal juice on each side of the face."

In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of

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868 by your mother, and you can learn all the time. I have to train this boy. Of course, he may not hear part of the time, but I have to tell him what he should do, what he has to go through."

868 462 All adults feel the responsibility for furnishing the child with information appropriate to his age and sex:

The boys watch the men when they are making bows and arrows; the man calls them over, and they are forced to watch him. The women, on the other hand, take the girls out and show them what plants to use for baskets, what clay for pots. And at home the women weave the baskets, sew moccasins, and tan buckskin before the girls. While they are at work, they tell the students to watch closely so that when they reach womanhood nobody can say anything about their being lazy or ignorant. They teach the girls to cook and advise them about picking berries and other fruits and gathering food.

867 • 554 Not much importance is attributed to distinctions of status, but there are band and local group leaders and their families who are conscious of their position and good birth:

The word [good status] includes the idea that they are better educated in the Indian way. More pains are taken with such children; they are kept out of mischief more. They should not resent things easily. They are supposed to be [578] better bred. Quarreling should be beneath them. That is why, when a man is unreasonable or insulting, they say, "Even though you are of worthless stock, you should try to hold yourself back." I hear lots of boys of good families being [521] instructed by their parents. They are told to act accordingly. I heard one girl called down by her father for gossiping. She was told that those of her family did not do this and that she was acting like a trashy person.

"These people," said another informant, "don't want their children to get in any mixup; they are jealous of the reputations of their sons and daughters." So important did training in childhood loom to this man that he added: "A leader's son never fails to make good, for he is trained and advised from boyhood up to manhood."

867 574 576 The difference in social atmosphere with which various families surround the child has been noted thus:

At our camp my father and mother used to say, "Respect whoever comes to your camp. If it is just at mealtime when they come to your camp, just tell them to sit down. Then feed them first." Most of these Indians are this way.

But there are great differences among different families. I've noticed it. A man might have visitors at his home just about mealtime. His wife might cook

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cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old person prayed and lit it for him."

Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head extended families. With his children and grandchildren around him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact between the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected members of the extended family. The family is the realization of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grandchild. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate, the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

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night eat well, for if the enemy does come you can hide yourself because of the dark and get away."

Facial hair is greatly disdained, and its growth is usually attributed to disobedience of some kind. There is a test of self-discipline related to this:

My father used to tell me, "When you are old enough to go in the creek and you are in training, every now and then walk straight into the water until it reaches the place under your nose where a moustache would begin. But if you drink the water or get it in your nose or mouth you will have a moustache." I tried this several times just for fun. The older people warned us not to let the water in; they didn't want us to have moustaches. They said that if we smoked while we were little we would get a moustache too.

The last sentence of this quotation calls attention to another matter concerning which the boy receives instruction at about this time. Smoking is the prerogative of the warriors and of the older women:

They tell a boy that he will have to catch a coyote first before he can smoke, but they mean it just as a joke. Some try it, of course; that's what they tell the boys to do it for, to see them try something that no boy can do. It's just like sending a boy for the thing they call "that with which one smokes."

Among older men the admonition is used in jest: "Not long ago when I lit a cigarette an old man said to me, 'When did you catch your coyote?' I told him, 'I've never done it, and I don't believe you ever did either.' He only laughed." To smoke during the boyhood or the training period is said to make a boy "lazy and no good at work."

Gradually the boys become inured to the demands made upon them and even devise tests of character for themselves. To demonstrate their bravery, they place dry sage or the pith of the sunflower stalk on their skins, ignite it, and let it burn to ash. Even though they are burned severely enough to show a scar years later, they must not flinch.

The training described thus far is entirely in the hands of the immediate family, but, when the youth reaches the age of puberty, this hardening process takes a more formalized turn. The father lets his son know that momentous days are ahead: "There are harder things to be learned later. When you are a little older,

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868 526 492 Practice in handling and riding horses under all conditions is a regular part of the training. The boy is taught to ride bareback, to control the horse with only a rope around its nose, and to ride down a steep incline, picking up objects from the ground as he goes. He is also judged as he rides full speed toward a barrier and tries to halt his horse just before reaching it, or jumps the horse over hurdles.

868 526 One of the last activities of this phase of the training is a cross-country run. The route that is to be covered is laid out. There are no long halts, and the boys try to refrain from eating for the two days of this journey. Not until the afternoon of the second [866] day may they kill animals for food. The boys do not sleep until the race is over. A variation is to make a group of boys walk all night to see if they can withstand fatigue.

868 554 866 The boys who achieve a position of superiority during this training period rise to pre-eminence in their age group. The tasks which lie ahead are close enough in spirit to those in which they have already excelled so that their futures are reasonably assured. The foundations of status recognitions are laid in the training period, therefore.

593 152 577 828 [868] Paternal affection is reinterpreted when the training period begins. No longer is it indulgence. "Because a Chiricahua parent loves his child," he insists upon duties which are often painful, for in his opinion this is the only way "his son will eventually make a living." There is no rancor involved; certainly no conscious cruelty or sadism.

152 156 577 828 This attitude penetrates deeply to the core of all response and behavior. Demonstrativeness is considered unbecoming; what cannot be translated into action need not be protested. Since stoicism and strength are underlined, displays of personal consideration and "softness" must be repressed. Only at times of crisis and of great grief, in appeals to the supernatural, or during mourning do the people permit the emotions full expression.

868 867 The girl's destiny as a dutiful wife is made very clear to her while she is still a child. The father may say, "We want to rear you well so people won't talk about us; we want to get something out of your marriage, so we want to take care of you."

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brush until night and then start out to the next mountain range. Don't go across flats in the day. Only travel day and night if you are in the mountains." 868 881

About water they told me this: "If you don't know where there is water, get up on a high place and look for the green spots. Where there are trees and green grass growing, there you will find water. Don't go to it in the day though. Enemies look for you there. No matter how thirsty you are, wait until night comes. Then go there, drink, and fill up any water container you have brought with you." 702 484

Also they told me to go to sleep in a place from which I could get to cover quickly. And they told me, "Even if it is a hot day, don't go to the deep shade. Go under a little bush in the open or under grass. The first place a Mexican or another Indian or a wild animal looks when it comes along is in the shade, and there you are. If you are in the tall grass and hear something, just pick some grass up, hold it before you, and look through it. Then it will be hard to see you, especially from a distance. If you are out where the brush is heavy and you want to conceal yourself without moving, just take a branch which is to the right or left and pull it in front of you."

I was spoken to in this manner also. "If you see someone in the distance and don't know who it is, pick out a place from which you can get to cover easily but which is in the open and visible from this cover. Take grass and make a fire and put evergreen on to make a heavy smoke. Then put it out at once and run to the place from which you can see well. The person will come over to the place where the fire was, and you can tell who he is. You are in a good place from which to strike or get away if he is an enemy, and you can go to him if he is a friend.

"If you are lost or want to find someone, make a fire and a smoke and put it out. Look around then. Your friends will make one too and then you'll find them. If you want someone to follow you, send up smoke and at the place put a notched stick pointing toward the direction in which you went. Your friends will find it. They will come in to your people and say, 'The fire looks as though it was made two or three days ago; we'd better follow at once.'" [487]

They told me how to camp out in bad weather too. They said: "In winter try to find a tree with wide branches, for there will be less snow under it than in other places. Rake away what snow is there. Find a dry spot, cut branches, and pile them on it, and put your robe on them. Sleep near a fire there. Build the fire on top of the ground if you are not going to stay long. If you are going to camp there for some time, dig a pit."

There is no definite age at which a boy must join his first expedition: "When a boy is old enough, he volunteers." Though there is no compulsion to participate, the physically fit who wish to enjoy material benefits can hardly choose another course. Because of its practical and ceremonial extensions this apprenticeship is indispensable to successful warfare, and the man who has 881 868 702 721 [554]

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D. said, "I am going to give you valuable property. That man will give you horses. But the way you start off is not right." 584 [583]

The old lady asked, "Who is this man?"

He's standing out there. He's my nephew. I love him. He's a good man for you. . . . ."

If the go-between is a relative of the suitor and a friend of the girl's family, he meets opposition by injecting a personal note that is hard to resist: "Sometimes the go-between would say, 'I want your daughter to marry this boy. He is my relative. From now on we will live as relatives.' "

It is an advantage "to get an influential person to talk for you." While the go-between is simply an agent, he takes his task seriously and believes his success is a measure of his persuasiveness. Should he be ungraciously received, he is likely to feel personal resentment. Consequently, it is more difficult for the average family to return a negative reply to a "public figure" than to an ordinary man. Forceful conversationalists are likewise in demand for this office. Sometimes a person gains a reputation in this field and may be asked to perform this service a number of times, but it is denied that there are any "professional go-betweens." Even affinal relatives may act for a young man: "I talked to my sister-in-law about a wife. I told her to ask a certain person for a wife for me. It took a long time." 584 554 [602]

A humorous story, illustrating the kind of temperament eminently suited for the task, is told of a man who has acted as go-between by request on a number of occasions and at least once without specific instructions: 584 156

J. got married through L. L. was always the life of the party. He was witty and loud spoken. He was a widower and J. was living with him. He was related to J. in some way. J. had been going with E.'s daughter for a long time. He intended to marry her anyway, but he had not done anything yet about it. Then L. was invited to a tiswin party at E.'s place. He got feeling good. J. and the girl were not there. While he was feeling good he got talking with Mrs. E. He said, "Now how about letting my relative marry your daughter?" Mrs. E. said, "That's fine!"

The next day L. woke up. He was the way people are after a party. "Oh, J.," he said, "now you are in for it!"

"What's the matter with you? You must feel pretty bad after that party," J. said.

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Suppose I want to marry a certain girl. A relative of mine goes over to her folks and speaks to them about it. They might say, "Send that boy over here." I go over there. They tell me to sit outside, perhaps, and they talk to me from the inside of their camp. Or they might tell me to come in. I go in. They ask me what I intend to do. I give them a good talk, telling them that I will work for them, stay with them, bring in something to each one of them, and give so many horses to them too. Then, if they agree, one of the old ladies, a relative of the girl I am going to marry, may put a blanket over her head and walk out, saying, "I'm going to hide from this man." The father and mother do that too. They have to[i.e., practice avoidance]. There is no choice for them. The close relatives of my wife are all there and show what they intend to do. Those who are not there send word to me about hiding or speaking polite. Then I act that way toward them.

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The presentation of gifts is a convention that is seldom violated. "A man must give a present to his wife's relatives or be disgraced; the woman is disgraced too if this is not done." It is expected that a chaste and dutiful girl will attract valuable gifts, and, in the words of an informant, "it's not much use asking for a woman in marriage if you can't give a present." It is one of the duties of the go-between to mention the gifts and to satisfy the girl's relatives that they will be adequate: "Whoever goes as go-between for the young man says, 'I want to ask you for your daughter. I'll give you so many horses, so many buckskins,' and he mentions whatever else he has been told to offer."

If an understanding between the families has been reached in advance and the visit of the go-between is merely a formality, he may take the presents with him and leave them as soon as consent is granted. More commonly, he returns later to deliver what has been promised. Therefore, the marriage gift is called "a burden has been brought." If the arrangement entails the giving of horses only, the prospective groom may simply turn them out to graze with those of his future parents-in-law.

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There are no definite limits to the number of presents that may be promised, and the size of the gift has little bearing on the status of the principals:

The woman's status is not affected by the amount of the present. The man who gives a great deal is just thought of as a man who is able to give a great deal. It's considered all right, but he can't raise his position that way. About four or five horses with saddles would be a very big present. A horse or two would be normal and average.

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has to be made if the family is to live near "friends." All that can be said is that residence in one place rather than in another may be determined by the presence there of a family with which friendly connections have been established through marriage. 621 602 591

The presence of his own kin in the same local group where he lives with his affinities assures the newly married man of the perpetuation of a good many past ties, as an understanding of the relations between the extended family and the local group suggests. 602 621

The local group is a cluster of encampments in one general locality. It is a division of the larger group, the band. The people in it all camp around some well known spot from which the local group gets its name. Those who camp around Mora Mountain are called "People of Mora Mountain." This refers to all the people living together in this region. But within the local group there would be other divisions. All would not live at one place. Some would camp on one side of the mountain, some would camp on the other. Others might camp at any favorable spot near water. These smaller groups or camps are decided along relationship lines. That is, all the relatives and those who marry into a certain family live together. 621 596 361 [101]

These smaller units, the extended families, are referred to by means of the leading men in them. Thus, we speak of N.'s encampment, C.'s encampment. The local group is not a relationship group strictly, but the extended family does consist of relatives. If a person asks, "Who are you? To what people do you belong?" you give the name of your band. But if someone asks where you live, you say that you are one of a certain local group. 621 596 101

The local group tie is essentially one of residence and may be severed summarily: 621 602

The children are usually members of the local group to which the mother belongs, because a man is supposed to live near and work for his wife's people. When a man of one local group marries a woman of another, his direct affiliation with the first local group is over. He is now related by marriage to people in the second local group. But he has relatives in the first one, and in case of trouble or divorce he would go back there. 591

Further characteristics of the local group are summarized in this explanation: 621 596

The local group consists of a number of extended families living near some prominent family, that is, living around some family who has a good leader. This leader would be expected to lead the men of the local group when they go on a raid or engage in war. But each extended family has its own place to store food. And whenever a girl's puberty rite takes place, people outside the local group come too. 591 [554] [251] [881] [619]

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776 More feared is Water Monster, who sometimes appears in human form and sometimes as a large serpent. He is responsible for drownings, and "when anything disappears at the water, they suspect Water Monster." "He is a swallowing monster. He would just swallow people up, and they'd disappear. There is a spring near here where they say there is a Water Monster. At Whitetail there is a spring like this. Even horses go there and never come out."

THE SHAMAN AND POWER

756 554 *The personnel of shamanism.*—In the great enterprise of traffic with the supernatural there is no hierarchy of religious leadership:

There were not a few shamans. Supernatural power is something that every Chiricahua can share. Most of the people have some sort of ceremony, little or big

Shamans aren't ranked: each person knows a different thing, so no one is better than another. If you have the ceremony for a certain thing, you have it; that's all. If a shaman can't help you, he just can't cure you, and you get someone else.

[789] One thing, like the power to make someone run fast, is enough to make you a shaman. The possession of any ceremony makes a person a shaman. A little rite makes you a shaman just as much as a long elaborate one.

Yet individuals whose cures are consistently spectacular and whose prophecies are often verified do achieve more than average renown:

Those well known for their ceremonial work were usually pretty well off. They depended on ceremony for a livelihood to some extent, but they went along on hunts and did all the work that the others performed too. When men came [431] back from raids with booty, they were given many gifts. People went out of their way to help them.

756 726 554 At a time of strife the shaman whose ceremony pertains to the thwarting of the enemy may gain markedly in prestige:

The shaman whose work has to do with war had a strong part in politics and could rise to a position of power. But ordinarily a man with another ceremony is just like anyone else. Geronimo got political power from the religious side. He foresaw the results of the fighting, and they used him so much in the campaigns that he came to be depended upon. He went through his ceremony, and he would say, "You should go here; you should not go there." That is how he became a leader.

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But it must not be overlooked that a person's supernatural experiences are often conditioned by his special abilities. Those who excel in warfare, for instance, are likely to attribute their success to supernatural help and to seek evidence that their actions are divinely guided. There consequently takes place a convergence of prowess in war and "power" for war.

Women are not barred from the acquisition of supernatural power. "Women can have any power. I knew a woman who had power from the Mountain People. She directed the making of the dancers, just as any man does. She died at Fort Sill." Few ceremonial privileges are denied to a woman. She may not impersonate a Mountain Spirit or use the sweat lodge. But "there are many women shamans, and they are as powerful as men. Women are capable of conducting ceremonies on an equal footing with men."

The time of the acquisition of supernatural power.—Mundane knowledge alone is not considered a full guaranty of a satisfactory life. "The Apache has help for everything against which he has to contend." "We have shamans for all purposes. There is a ceremony for nearly everything in life. There are ceremonies for sickness, love, hunting, war, and so on. All these are recognized."

It is understandable, therefore, that every individual should anticipate the time when he will gain strength beyond his own or any human resource. The need for such assistance is sometimes felt very early in life. It will be remembered that a dreamer to whom reference has already been made placed the first dream to which he attributed importance at about his eighth year.[1] Another whose dream assumed ceremonial significance likewise experienced it during childhood:

> When I was a young boy, I had this experience and I was told that I would live to be an old man. Old age was promised to me, and I got it. The power told me, "You shall see your country again, but you shall be alone." I have lost my family, all except two boys. The power told me, "When you get old, you can tell about the ceremony." That is why I tell you this.

In another account two children, "a girl about seven years old and a boy a little bigger," acquire power.

[1] See p. 192.

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remember the prayers. When a man is handing down power, if the one he is teaching cannot learn the prayers and the rest of the ceremony in four days, it is a sign that power does not want to come to him. But if the man learns easily, he is the type of person for the work, it shows. It is not a thing that the shaman has entire say about. He must consult the power, the source from which he gets his ceremony. The shaman chooses, but it must please the power.

Of the final act of the transfer, it was said:

He told us we would have to stay up with him for four nights and learn it. Then the last night, the last thing he will do is to put pollen in our mouths four times, and the fourth time the power will come to us.

Since the power could have rejected him, the student feels that he has been approved. The power, pleased with the new incumbent, appears to him, speaks to him, and performs all the services for him that it rendered his instructor. One who has learned a ceremony, if he is a more forceful and religiously minded person, may actually come to know the power better than his predecessor.

Sometimes the shaman who teaches another his ceremony does not insist on payment. More often, some payment is required or, nevertheless, proffered. In learning some ceremonies, the person "in training" must submit during the period of instruction to certain food and behavior restrictions. "If the new shaman does not follow the rules laid down by his instructor, he will lose the power."

There is no obligation to accept instruction from a shaman who is eager to give it. "I was approached by a man a long time ago who wanted to transfer his power to me. I told him, 'No, I am afraid of it.' Sometimes a person will want to hand down a ceremony, but no one will take it because it is so dangerous."

Personality differences of shamans.—Some individuals are definitely "ceremonial people." They claim the right to conduct a number of rituals obtained by personal vision experience, by instruction, or in both ways. "R. has all sorts of power in different ways; he's just full of it," was a remark made of one man. Of another great shaman, his son said:

My father knew Goose, Bear, Wolf, Lightning, and many other things. When he received his power, the last man in the cave [holy power home] said, "All these are under you."

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I never knew how many things my father did know. He said to me once, "I can't tell you. I'd like you to know it all, but some things I cannot tell. I could take you where I went in the cave, but you might not 'make' it." And he laughed.

The possibility of multiple powers leads to interesting ramifications. One shaman, after some reverses, may decide that two of his powers are hostile toward each other, and he may feel obliged to discontinue the use of one of them. Another may be assured that his power source and another "work well together" and so may attempt to secure a complementary rite. One informant felt, for instance, that "Wind and Thunder go together," and he organized his own ritual life in terms of this precept.

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Personality differences and differences in interest are sharply evident. "Often men have more than one power. Some fellows have many; some just don't care about it at all. Several men may know the same thing, and one may know several things." Very nearly all adults are eager for supernatural guidance, but many see in their power merely a personal monitor or carry on ceremonies for the benefit of their immediate families only.

Some are suspected of having this power or that but refuse to give any satisfaction to their questioners. The power itself may have forbidden revelation of the connection or may have advised that the knowledge be withheld for a certain time. Consequently, curiosity about undeclared power is always rife. A newly worn feather or amulet arouses all kinds of speculation. A favorite device, when a person is suspected of ceremonial knowledge which he has not divulged, is to discuss the matter with him when his inhibitions are at low ebb. In a case of this kind "the man gave away the fact of his power while he was drunk, and the other got him to perform the ceremony for him."

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Sometimes, to help a friend or a relative, a person who thinks his rite might prove effective reluctantly "gives himself up." One man performed a snake ceremony before a selected group but asked them to say nothing about it. When I interviewed him, he pleaded profound ignorance of the snake rite. Since I could not very well confess that he had been betrayed to me, there was no way to elicit the desired data.

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Theoretically, no shaman is obliged to accept a call for assistance that he does not wish to honor. In practice, however, it is very difficult to turn away the sick person or his relatives, particularly if the request is attended by a prescribed ceremonial gesture, is expressed in language of great humility, or if relationship terms are employed in the asking.

An individual who shows initial reluctance to demonstrate his ceremonial knowledge may achieve signal success as a result of his first public venture. He is then likely to lose his shyness and to accept cases at frequent intervals. There are others who are more than willing to earn the rewards that come to a successful practitioner. They wear conspicuously amulets suggestive of their power and are ready to tell about their vision experiences and their ceremonial triumphs. They accept any reasonable case and make of their rituals a dramatic display.

The functions of supernatural power.—Besides its general function as a guardian spirit, the most frequent use of supernatural power is in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. There is no separate class of diagnosticians or shamans who consult their power solely to learn the cause of illness and the identity of another practitioner to cope with it. But sometimes "a shaman can tell you beforehand whether he can do you any good." If there is doubt concerning the cause of the sickness and the pertinence of a particular ceremony, a pragmatic attitude is assumed:

> Both R. and A. sang for me. They kept singing because they did not know what I got sick from. If what they know is the right thing, it cures it. R. sang lightning songs, for he knows that too. He sang for nine days. It usually lasts four days, but if you don't know what a man is sick from, you keep on until you find out sometimes.

During the curative rite, when the shaman is receiving instruction from his power source concerning the best method to combat the sickness, he often obtains additional information. Some of it is of a prophetic nature, picturing the future state and fortunes of his patient. This is considered cogent material to introduce, especially if it suggests that the sick person will recover. Sometimes the predictions shed light on the affairs of some of the onlookers too. This acts as testimony to the effectiveness of the

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That shaman knows my wife is worse. He knows she got sick just before his boy died. We moved over there and had our camp near his. He didn't do anything. I've done a lot for that man. I gave him a steer when his daughter had her puberty rite. I've taken him other food. He thinks I should keep right on doing things for him.

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Often the service that a shaman has rendered his client is the basis for closer friendly relations. Although the process is informal, this bond is an important one for many individuals. "There is no set rule that a cured patient is under obligation to a shaman, but sometimes a person himself feels that way."

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Where a ceremony ends in failure, the shaman does not suffer irreparable injury to his reputation unless he has expressed himself too confidently concerning a favorable outcome. The result may be attributed to the fact that the shaman was not called in time or to the strength of an opposing witch. The ultimate effects of the rite are not always at once obvious, though it is hoped that the ceremony will pave the way for steady recovery. Should that recovery lag, it may be accounted for by the patient's carelessness in the wearing of the protective amulet, or by his failure to observe strictly the taboos. That a shaman may succeed in one case and not in another is conceded. To "try" the ceremonies of a number of practitioners before relief from some tenacious ailment is obtained has been the experience of a large percentage of adults at some time in their lives.

CEREMONIALISM IN ACTION; OBTAINING AND USING POWER

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Mountain People.—The functions of the Mountain People and of their most important representatives, the Mountain Spirits, are well illustrated in the myths. One tale describes the curing of two children, one legless and one blind. Abandoned, these two try vainly to follow their people. The blind boy carries the cripple and is guided by his directions. Then the Mountain People appear and conduct the boys to their "home."

Many people lived in that mountain. They dressed all kinds of Mountain Spirits for these boys. They prayed and began to sing. There were women in the mountain too. The women made the sound, the cry of applause, as they do at the big tepee during the girl's puberty rite now.

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out what had been done against them. He saw that the enemy had used cactus with a spider's web. This makes the toes twist [gives cramps] and makes the men fall off their horses. My father found it out and let them have the worst of it. He went to the edge of camp and "shot" four cactus plants on the back trail. They had no trouble after that.

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Antelope and deer.—Deer and antelope ceremonies have as their primary function the securing of game, but other uses for such power exist, such as the employment of the deer ceremony in love rites. The usual deer ceremony is direct in intent and execution. It consists in prayers and songs to Deer the night before the hunt, bespeaking the singer's need, and instructing the animals to give up some of their hide and meat. The ritual may include placing a certain grass under the pillow the night before the hunt, refraining from mentioning the ordinary names for game animals during the expedition, or observing other rules. Often the mountain where the hunter intends to seek his kill is named in the songs.

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The test of a deer or antelope shaman's relations with his power source is the success with which he can predict when, where, and in what quantity the game may be obtained. For some shamans the ability to produce or to find game almost at will has been claimed.

Many knew about deer, but A.'s father knew more than the rest. One man wanted to bet with him [about which one knew more on this subject]. The great man did not want to bet. "I don't know anything about deer," he said. The other begged him to bet. "All right," he said then, "I'm going to make a deer come to that oak. I'll make him eat of it. I'll shoot him there. You do the same to the other oak with another deer. If you can do it, you know as much as I do."

But the other refused. . . . . "I don't mean that. I mean that we should go out hunting to see who kills a deer first."

"No, that has nothing to do with power. Now you want to change the bet." But the other man backed down.

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The individual with a deer or antelope ceremony uses it in many ways. He prepares the deer and antelope heads used in stalking game and sings over them to imbue them with the benefits of his rite. Because his practical experience is augmented by supernatural knowledge, such a shaman is requested by parents to instruct their sons in hunting. Moreover, since good fortune

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they say." This has been interpreted to mean: "The Chiricahua are out by themselves. They see a wagon. They are glad because they know their warriors will bring in the spoils."

Glory and enhanced status may be the by-products of the raid, but the immediate aims of those who organize such expeditions and participate in them are direct and practical:

> One party after the other went out. They went on raids because they were in need. They divided their booty among the poor in camp. Sometimes they traded it to the well-to-do. Sometimes the horses were traded for a woman [in marriage]; they were given to the girl's parents.

> When the people are poor and need supplies, the leader says, "We must go out and get what we need." It is volunteer work. Whoever is in want of food and necessities goes. The leader heads the party, which is made up of men only. Women never go on raids.

> E.'s father was a great leader. He helped the people many times when they needed things. One time he prophesied that they were going to take a lot of booty near a certain hill. He told the people that a provision train with food and goods of all kinds would pass there. They went there, and the wagons passed by, and they got the goods.

In the speech of a leader, who is about to direct an expedition, the raid is also pictured as a stern economic necessity:

> You love your homes and children. But we are going to leave them. Forget them. We do not know what is going to happen. Prepare your weapons. . . . . Do not be afraid. We want to accomplish something for our camp; for our people are in need. . . . .

Since raid and war are viewed as industrial pursuits, unwillingness to participate in them is attributed to indolence rather than cowardice:

> If a man wouldn't go to war, it was because he was generally lazy, just too lazy to get around, and his mind watery. Another person might have to push him around to get him to do anything. People who don't go to war are just lazy people; that's all. There may have been some industrious men who did not go to war because they were cowardly—but, of course, these men would never tell why they would not go to war if this was the reason. I suspect there were some who were afraid to die. You couldn't tell for sure. It was usually blamed on laziness.

There is no absolute terminological distinction between the raid and a war expedition. Both are aspects of behavior which is described by a single term meaning "they are scouting about"

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formula occur. One calls for the addition of poisonous insects to putrifying liver; another is a mixture of deer stomach, blood, and thorny plants pounded together and allowed to spoil. Of the action of such poison, an informant declared, "A man hit with an arrow dipped in this turns black." 726 411

The bow and arrows are fitted handily into a well-made bow cover and quiver:

When the Chiricahua are on the march and are not using their arrows, they carry them so that the feathers come over the top of the right shoulder. When they are fighting, they reverse the bag so that the feathers come under the left armpit, and they can be snatched out of the quiver with the right hand. For a left-handed person it is just the opposite. Sometimes the quiver is carried over the chest so it will be more handy.

Few men carry shields, for their manufacture is associated with the ceremony obtained from weapons: 726 714

They wear the shield on the left arm (if right-handed). It is held over the arm by one or two straps, whatever is convenient. There is no buckskin cover for the Chiricahua shield. If I wanted to make one, I'd have to make it plain. To get it designed properly I have to go to a man who knows how and I have to pay him. A thing like this is made by a shaman, and you have to pay for it no matter how little it is. The man I go to uses his ceremony for my protection and puts on his design. Most shields have just a few feathers in the center and are of painted cowhide. There is buckskin around the edge only. They are very plain. [756] [789] [531]

Spears, too, are most often made and decorated, either for themselves or for others, by shamans with "power of weapons." Before European contact, spears were essentially lengths of sharpened wood. Later, knives and bayonets were attached to the ends. Because the use of the spear brings the warrior within a few steps of his foe, fighting with this weapon is the kind of action expected of war leaders or those who aspire to that status. The spear rose in favor during the time of strife with the Mexicans: 726 411 [756] [778] [177] [554] • 726 411 648

I remember back to the time when the Mexicans and other enemies used guns that I guess they call breechloaders.[7] The Chiricahua were using arrows, war clubs, and spears then. The spear was used when the enemy was taking time to load his gun. The Mexican used to have that big gun. He would shoot once, and the Indian who was a good runner charged him and pushed the spear in him. The Mexican didn't have time to reload.

[7] Probably the informant is thinking of a muzzle-loader.

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252 262 "The stomach isn't often eaten. Now when we butcher a cow, the stomach is thrown away."

Birds that are considered edible are most often boiled. Turkeys are eviscerated, plucked, and then boiled, for instance.

251 [462] It is the woman's task, also, to preserve any surplus meat by "jerking" it:

> She takes the thick parts, cuts them thin, and hangs them up to dry in the sun. To use the meat after it is dried, she pounds it up with a stone. It can be mixed with fat then and eaten like this without being cooked. Or even without the fat it is used on the march and in emergencies. When the people are in no hurry, this pounded meat can be added to soup, boiled in water, or fried. It will soften when boiled in water. This dried meat, in strips or in pounded form, can be kept in caches or carried in sacks. Jerked meat, when the people are camping in one place for a time, is laid over the higher limbs of a near-by tree.

THE PREPARATION OF BEVERAGES

273 462 [292] The preparation of beverages, both alcoholic and nonalcoholic, is classified with cooking and is, therefore, the task of the woman. Of tiswin-making it was said: "A man would never [558] make tiswin. It would lower his standing. One man used to [156] make it, but he was a roughneck, and didn't care about his standing. He lowered himself many times."

292 The juice of the prickly pear is occasionally drunk, but "for health" rather than for quenching thirst. Drinks which are compared to commercial coffee and tea are described:

> In those days when coffee was scarce, some people used the bark of different trees, such as oak [Gambel oak] to make a drink. Some used a plant for tea. It is [824] better than the tea you buy. The English name for it is lip fern. It grows all around here. There is another plant [cota] that is used for tea too. To make it, some is just broken into convenient pieces, put in a pot, boiled, and the water drained off. It is about the same color as store tea and tastes much the same.

273 [824] Alcoholic beverages are made from mescal, sotol, mesquite, and, more recently, from maize and wheat. Tiswin, the maize drink, is the only one of these beverages which is made or consumed in appreciable quantities. The people have become very [554] fond of this mild beer, and the services and company of a woman who can make it well are in constant demand.

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A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.

First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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practice of ritual, the distribution that this fosters is constant and equitable.

It is gift-giving that largely takes the place of trade, though the difference is mostly one of phrasing. There is the feeling that exchanges should depend upon an implicit reciprocity to be worked out in individual relations rather than in terms of declared measures of value. One speaks of "giving" instead of "selling." But it is understood that generosity begets generosity and that a man loses nothing by kindness to his neighbors. Thus a father caps advice to his son with this admonition: "Do not be stingy and mean. Treat people right. Give half of what you have. Then you will be invited to feasts and get presents."

The openhanded individual builds up a fund of friends who will serve him in good stead whenever he needs assistance, material or moral. One informant told how a member of a certain family gave gifts to his wife. "Now they are our friends" was his comment. The implication is that some gesture on his part will be forthcoming later, for this is an almost inevitable consequence of friendship initiated in this way.

Reputation and social standing are significantly related to generosity, and, even if the individual gains no more than added prestige, he does not regret his philanthropy:

> Gifts are given because we are sympathetic to one another. If someone needs food, we help him in a material way, for we feel that we are one people. We feel that way to a man who is poor. Giving is a great thing to the Chiricahua. A man can make a great reputation by giving.

Acceptance of a gift is felt by the receiver as a claim upon him to be adjusted in his own time and way:

> You are ashamed to borrow a horse, a bow, or other things, for that shows that you are not a real man and have not been on the raid and obtained things for yourself. To start out, the young man would be given the necessities. Giving is a great thing with us. I don't think there was much selling in the old days, but there was always lots of giving.
>
> Even now there is not much selling. I could walk up to any man and ask for a horse. Even though I don't know him well I have a good chance of getting it. I've been offered horses. C. offered me a horse, but I never took it. I didn't take it because I did not want to feel under obligation to him. He just offered it to show his friendship. This was done in the old days a great deal.

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Prestige, obligations to relatives, and the general tenet of generosity perpetuate gift-giving even in situations where no return present is likely to be forthcoming. Nevertheless, these gifts set up currents of reciprocity which stimulate the exchange and circulation of property:

> The Chiricahua's nature, the life of the old times that we have been telling about, was free. We gave gifts to one another and didn't ask anything in return. If a man liked you he would say, "I am going to give you a horse, or a ring"—like that . . . . free. To give is considered a good trait, to give without asking something in return.

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593 434 554 No less important in determining a wife's social and domestic position is her economic usefulness. An industrious woman contributes so significantly to the family resources that the indispensable part she plays cannot be minimized by the men. Moreover, much of the wealth she creates belongs to her. Consequently, wives are well aware of their rights and do not accept abuse supinely:

> Not long ago this man started beating up his wife. She just took him and rolled him under the bed. You know he is paralyzed on one side and is pretty near helpless when you get him like that. It was a low bed, and he got stuck there. He stayed there until another fellow came along and let him out. He was there calling to his wife to get him out.

593 554 An amusing anecdote better illustrates the usual independence of wives in their own homes:

> Geronimo was very absent-minded. He would be looking for his hat and he would have it on his head.
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> One time when we were over to visit him, he was making a bow with a big knife. Pretty soon he began asking his wife where his knife was. All the time he had it in his hand, but we didn't let on. So there he was, scolding his wife and telling her to look for it for him. He was short and stout and pretty old by then, so he wasn't active any more. That's why he wanted his wife to get it for him. But she wouldn't look. She said, "You're old enough to look for your own knife."
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> Geronimo got pretty angry. "Boys, you see how she is!" he said. "I advise you not to get married." Finally he saw the knife in his hand. "Why, I'm nothing but a fool!" he said.

593 Important in the stabilization of many marriages are the respect and affection that grow through the years as a result of shared experiences. An elderly informant told of the long period of domestic happiness which he and his wife had enjoyed. Besides being a loyal and helpful mate, she had saved his life. Once [648] when Mexican villagers were overhospitable to a group of Chiricahua, she suspected duplicity and accepted none of the food and drink offered. As she had feared, just as soon as her people were properly befuddled, a massacre began. But she remained clear-headed and managed to get her helpless husband to a hiding-place. The moral force that this exceptional woman exercised over her mate is generally recognized. More than once it was

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595 second woman." Another commentator, however, feels that separate households for wives is the more usual state, especially in times of peace, although "sometimes in wartime they are in the same house because of the danger." In all probability adjustments are made to needs and particular situations. The size of the family and the degree of cordiality existing between wives have much to do with the determination of living arrangements.

595 554 Leadership and wealth come with years and experience; therefore, a man is not likely to take a second wife until a good many years after his first marriage. This may account, in part, for the absence of serious friction between co-wives. The older woman normally has shared her youth with her husband, has borne him children, and has attained status and a good deal of control over the family before the second wife enters the household. She often welcomes the newcomer for the assistance the arrangement will give her with the household duties. Sometimes it is at her instigation that another wife is taken. Since only leaders and wealthy men can afford to have more than one wife, polygyny is not widely practiced. No more than 20 per cent and perhaps only 10 per cent of the men would be able to undertake such responsibilities.

THE SORORATE AND LEVIRATE

587 [192] At the death of a wife or a husband, the surviving mate is spoken of as "one who has become *ica*." The word *ica* does not yield to linguistic analysis, but it has the force of "bound to" or "under the control of." Those who exercise the control are the relatives of the deceased spouse. Those to whom the surviving partner is "bound" (in the sense that they may request marriage of him or her) are the dead person's siblings and cousins of the same sex. Of the terminological usage one informant explained: 587 196 "A man shouldn't say of another man, 'He is "bound" to me.' He should say, 'He is "bound" to us,' meaning to the whole family. But a man can be 'bound' to a woman." Another said of the word: "When you say, 'She (he) becomes "bound,"' you mean that the person is a widow or widower, but is not free."

587 The substance of the sororate and levirate has been defined thus:

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538 A really talented raconteur has at his command a seemingly inexhaustible fund of stories. Of the host of the occasion mentioned above it was said with admiration: "N. began at sundown. He told Coyote stories all night. He never finished them that night." For those who stay up all night to listen to him, the 538 narrator is expected to have some gift. By keeping the audience 431 up until dawn, he has "stolen the night" from them and owes them amends:

> The old-time Indians used to give you a big present if you stayed up all night and listened to them tell stories. They used to kill a cow or even give a horse or saddle. I went over to C.'s place with my wife. We got tired and wanted to come home about ten o'clock. C. said, "Why don't you stay all night and win something? We'll give you a big pan of piñon nuts." But we were too tired and came home.

If the host does not have suitable presents on hand, he may feel uneasy about keeping his audience too long:

> A while back we were over at T.'s camp and the old man was telling stories. We were willing to stay all night. But the old man stopped before the night was over and said, "I haven't got much here, and so I don't want to go too far. I'll give you what I have." He brought out some things. I took a pocketful of piñons and some tobacco and went home.

538 It is the story-teller's use of appropriate gestures, onomato-
522 poeia, and asides—in short, his gifts as actor and dramatist,
[554] which lend luster to his reputation. In order to keep interest at a high pitch, he does not hesitate to tease the less attentive members of his audience:

> Once the old man was telling the whole bunch of us Coyote stories. It was just the time when E. was having some trouble with his wife and his mother-in-law. The old man thought he would have some fun with E. He made believe he wasn't looking at E., but he was watching him out of the corner of his eye. When he came to a part where Coyote has some trouble with his wife or mother-in-law, if E. wasn't looking he'd motion toward him and say, "I guess it's this fellow." Everyone would laugh, and E. would look up. But by this time the old man would be looking the other way and going on with his story as though nothing had happened.
>
> At first E. laughed too. He didn't know it was for him. But after a while he got suspicious. He kept his eyes on the old man. Then he'd get tired or look around, and just that quick the old man would do it again. E. was always just too late to catch him at it.

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621 594 The married man acts as the head of his household and answers for his wife, his daughters, and his unmarried sons. When he reaches middle life, after his daughters 621 596 have married and he has sons-in-law to heed his wishes, he is the head of an extended family and gains in prestige. If anything very serious, such as a witchcraft trial, brings the members of a local group together, though all adults are present, it is these heads of extended families who monopolize the discussion and carry the decision. However, these representatives of extended families do not all stand on a par. They, and the families for whom they appear, vary in status and affluence. Of these elders, one is the recognized leader and a person who is expected to voice his views in detail and with conviction. It is loyalty to this local group leader and trust in his wisdom which holds the particular nucleus of families together.

554 596 622 623 There may be others present, men distinguished for wealth, bravery, or exceptional ceremonial knowledge, who are little less important in status than the leader. The leader needs their good will and support and seldom ignores their advice when their desires are obvious. These men may be considered the inner circle of the council, the advisers upon whom the leader leans heavily. "The heads of extended families are not necessarily leaders. They are often men of some influence though. C. was the leader of his little bunch, yet he was not recognized as a great leader. N. was both. The leader, however, is sure to be also the head of an extended family." Most of the others, because they are younger or more retiring, or because they represent families that are small, poor, or low in social position, add little besides their presence and their assent to what is decided.

619 621 622 554 To complete the picture, it is necessary to add that it is the most dominating of the local group leaders who heads the band. This distinction is not always clear cut. Sometimes the membership of two different local groups of a band each considers its leader superior. Then, when these two local groups join forces, authority is fairly evenly divided. Thus, while the Central Chiricahua of all local groups acknowledged Cochise as their leader, among the Eastern Chiricahua some preferred the direction of Victorio, others had more confidence in Nana.

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To appreciate the mechanics of the elevation of a man to the office of leader, the conception of status must be understood. Distinctions of status dependent upon birth are recognized, although they are not rigidly maintained and are not uninfluenced by considerations of wealth and ability.[2] [556] [555]

When we say "people who are worthless," we are thinking of those who are not refined, who are of low birth. It is as if you said, "That person's line is no good." It always carries the idea of low birth. When a man gets angry at someone, he tells him that he belongs to this class; he uses it as an insult. But, no matter of what family a man comes, he isn't called this unless he is shiftless, lazy, and unreliable. Some are like that. Of some we say, "Their excrement juts out [because they are too lazy to wipe it away]." [508]

Of another person we might say, "He is from his [good] people." This is used in the sense of descent from the families of leaders and the wealthy. Those of whom this is said are more respected. It is pretty clear cut, and there is not much doubt whether a person belongs to this class or not.

Another informant speaks of the same extremes of status designation but calls attention to the middle position which most individuals hold:

Those who have sprung from families of wealth and influence are said to be "the people of good birth." It is easy to recognize them. A ceremonial man's children would not necessarily come under this classification, for a ceremonial man could be very poor. The word "worthless" is applied to people who are just loose, ignorant, or of a very poor family. Most people are in between; they are respectable people and contribute to everything in a good way. But still they are not the descendants of leaders. There is no name for them.

The right to respect has to be validated by achievement and effort:

The word meaning "he is from his [good] people" is used of the descendants of the politically influential and wealthy. Still, of a man who comes of good blood but is worthless and a waster, they say, "He comes of good blood, all right; but he is worthless." The term is not applied to such a person. It is said only of descendants of influential or wealthy men who are themselves so. There isn't much question about it or any need for dispute. Whether you like a person or not, you have to recognize his importance and position. If my grandfather or uncle was a leader, I would come under this term. People would expect me to live up to it. The term includes strong people, people strong in social position or in war. But it has to be generally accepted. People have to have respect for you.

[2] Such distinctions have already been touched upon in connection with the rearing and training of children (see pp. 28–29).

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554 A personal enemy might class you the other way, but you would be prominent enough so that his motive would be apparent.

554 591 578 The conception of status conditions the amount of deference an individual expects and the degree to which it is thought seemly for him to take part in public affairs:

I nearly had some trouble with B. Some of her sheep had got mixed in with L.'s and mine, and there was some question about range. She got angry right away and came over and began to talk about the fact that she comes from good blood. She was referring to her relationship to Mangus, a leader of the old times. She did this to remind L., who is related to a leader's son, that she is as good as he is.

Another man described an occasion when his father publicly rebuked him for voicing opposition to a leader, the son of a man of rank:

My father scolded me right there. He said, "You are not a leading man here, and yet you try to find out all these things. You should not put yourself in."

I got up again to answer him. I told them all, "I am not a leading man. I don't pretend to be. But I am here and I don't want to be misled. I defend my family."

622 554 It is from the group of well-born and politically conscious individuals that the leaders are drawn. But family origin, while it does confer status unless there is some grave personal disability, does not determine political rank:

If the son of a leader is qualified, it is easier for him to become a leader. But it doesn't have to work that way. It's queer; I don't know just how to explain it. But those who become leaders are smarter. They are willing to come out and say what they think. I notice it here. Some people get the idea that it is handed down from father to son or from one relative to another. This is not so. Ability in war and wisdom make the leader. It's easier to get to the front if you are a good fighter. Yet some people, though they were good fighters, never became leaders. So I think it is a matter of smartness more than anything else. The leader is not chosen; he is just recognized. A leader might have a son who is not much good. That boy would not be recognized as a leader then.

The leader has no absolute control. What the white man calls a chief is really only a natural leader. Because of his skill and ability, men look up to him. If his son is as good as he is, that boy is recognized as a leading man in time. Otherwise he is not looked on as a leader. S. has more influence than N. or G., though the fathers of both of these men were leaders. Even I have more influence than these men. That's the way it looks to me in regard to this leader matter. I think a man becomes a leader because he is a little smarter.

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Clearly, whatever his antecedents, a man must show presence and a willingness to assume responsibilities if he is to be accepted as a leader: 622 554

I don't look on N. as a leader. His father was one all right. I don't believe others think of him as a leader either. I have never heard him speak in public. If he would stand up in public and talk, if he would take part in public affairs, he probably would be considered a leader. Often now I hear people say to him, "Why don't you do something? Why don't you take an interest in these things?" But he just doesn't care for it. There are two other men here whose fathers were leaders. But they are just common men now.

The man mentioned in the above excerpt has supplied his own interpretation of his status: "Some people call me leader because my father was a leader. But I don't take it that way. I'm just like a poor man. I have no horses, no cattle. I don't live in a good house. I live just the way [other] Indians live, in a camp."

"Sometimes a leader's son refuses the responsibility," but the expectancy is that he or a close relative will succeed the head man. It is assumed that the leader has given his young relative the benefit of his knowledge and has prepared him for the position by the most rigorous training: 622 554 867 868

A young man, the son of a leader, has no excuse for not knowing what his father knew. Therefore, a young man is expected to be able to take the job. He is expected to act like a young man no longer. He is expected to have lots of sense.

Someone teaches him how to lead his people, so that they will not be in danger of starvation, how to select well-watered sites for camping, where to go after deer, and how to lead men into battle.

The leadership idea came from Child of the Water. When he was on earth, he was a leader. The leadership is usually kept in the same family; it is just handed down. If a man's father, uncle, grandfather, or someone else in the family is a leader, the boy is in line to be one too. Then he is especially trained for this. He is instructed by his parents or grandparents to be a leader.

The son of the leader is the first choice when the leader dies or isn't active any more. Most of the leaders I knew were sons of leaders. The chief's children get special advice and act in a different way. Because he is trained in a good way right from the start, the leader's son usually turns out to be a real man.

It is customary for the leader to be a man of wealth too, for the backing of prominent relatives and the attention bestowed 622 554 556

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622 554 556 upon a young man of rank are likely to assure him more than the ordinary share of gifts and products of the raid. His marriage connections will probably also be of the best. The tie between leadership and wealth is a close one:

If a man gets a lot of cattle, all his friends and relatives want to help him and live off him; and so such a man is respected. Everybody wants to help him and be his friend. He may butcher an animal for the whole crowd occasionally. He becomes a leader. If he has many horses, all his friends use them; they thus put themselves under him, and he becomes their leader. A leader has to be rich anyway in order to give feasts. An important leader has four or five wives, and he takes care of them. In general, he has the best of everything.

[595]

622 554 555 Exceptional bravery sometimes elevates a warrior to rank even though his antecedents are ordinary:

A man who has done great deeds in war may be looked on as a leader when he comes back, even though he is not of a leader's family. A prisoner who has grown up with the Chiricahua and has accepted the life might even become a leader if he is brave and successful enough.

622 The functions of the leader are varied:

In case of war a leader heads the men when they go to battle. In time of peace he acts as adviser. He has charge of the group as far as camping, living conditions, and water supply are concerned. He advises the men about the hunt, where to go and how. Besides being an adviser and commander in war, the leader is also a peacemaker on occasion. If there should be a murder and the leader finds it out, he and some assistants saddle their horses, ride out among the camps, and work for peace so that there will not be any trouble. If the leader is not present when the act occurs, there may be a lot of trouble. The people try to fix it up peaceably; if not, trouble continues and there may be a long family feud.

[627]

[431] The leader is supposed to talk to his people. He is supposed to be sympathetic and tell them how to live, sympathetic in the sense of giving out horses and valuables to those who need them. The leader is supposed to give something to eat to everyone who comes around. He has control in time of war. You can't disobey him. The leader advises the people to help the unfortunate, to give to those whose luck is bad. He advises against fights in the camps; he doesn't want any quarrels within the group.

[756] He advises the people to be on the lookout all the time. He may request that a ceremony be performed by a shaman for the benefit of the men during a raid. If the leader is advised by the shaman as a result of such a ceremony to do this or that, he carries out what the power tells him to do. A man must be wealthy and [556] have a big following to be a chief.

Nothing special is done when a man becomes a leader. People just take it for granted. He talks then. He gives speeches on public occasions.

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The leader's effectiveness as a speaker is likely to prove a measure of his success. When he repeatedly fails to convince his followers of the necessity of the actions he counsels, his control simply dissolves:

> The leader has to be a good man, a good talker. He takes charge of things. He always has much to say. When anything is pending, he is asked about it, and he gives his opinion. What he says is respected, and his advice is usually followed. His directions are followed when the men are at war. In case of a murder he advises what to do about it. If more than one local group is involved, the leaders have a meeting and decide what to do with the murderer.
>
> The leader generally gets on a hill or a high place and gives advice to the people. He does this every day or sometimes just once in two or three days if there is nothing much to report. When there is a great deal of sickness in the camps, the leader may ask some shaman to hold a ceremony for the people.
>
> Except for the greater respect paid to him and the fact that everyone likes him, the leader is treated like anyone else in the group. If the leader gets too old, he just drops out; another man is put in his place. Then he stays home and doesn't try to go out and direct things. If they have any dispute over the leader, if it gets so that a good many don't trust him, they just get a new leader in his place. The one who has been leader is just a common member of the group after that.

As the last quotation suggests, the authority of the leader is far from absolute; his position is little stronger than that of an adviser of excellent reputation:

> A man called "leader" is respected all right. N. was a leader when I was young. If what N. advised when he was leader was in line with what the others considered their best interests, they followed him. The minute his ideas ran counter to those of the people he was directing, his ideas were not followed. He never had absolute control. No man would do what he said just because he said it. People always listened closely to what he said; they gave his words more attention than they gave to those of some ordinary man, but they didn't have to accept everything he said.
>
> The word "leader" carries the idea of director or commander. It does give you the idea that the directions are to be obeyed. But in actual life this is not always true. We use the same word ["he leads, commands, directs"] when a man is giving directions at a ceremony or about a piece of work.

Consequently, the head man's rank is assured only as long as his direction is effective:

> When the leader gets old, he may call the people together and say to them, "I have been your leader for a long time, and I am becoming old and feeble, even of mind. I want you to choose another who can do for you what I once did."

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622 554 But most often nothing as formal as this takes place. The retirement of the leader is gradual. His son or some prominent younger man who works closely with him and has his confidence takes charge in an increasing number of situations where physical vigor is essential. The old man, on the other hand, devotes a greater amount of attention to affairs of the camp. It is only a matter of time before the former leader is satisfied to act as the honored patriarch and as "he who commands for the home," leaving to his successor the responsibility for major decisions and military action. Therefore the length of the leader's period of service can be said to depend to a large degree upon his health and the amount of assistance he himself requires. Many leaders hold their following unchallenged until their death because they remain clear of mind and commanding in manner despite advancing years. The hereditary rights of a leader are honored only as long as he can fulfil the promise of his birth:

> If the group is dissatisfied with their leader, if they are tired of him and don't like him, they may just move away and camp elsewhere and recognize another leader. Then the former leader is left alone with his family. If a leader sees that such a thing is going to happen, he can, of course, give up his rights of leadership and remain with the group as an ordinary man.

Leadership, then, is a process in which birth and wealth have their place, but in which ability and personal magnetism are always the leavening factors.

888 [554] Whatever a man's rank in society, as long as he is not senile, advancing years entitle him to increased deference. "A person is respected more in home life when he reaches his prime." This attitude is indicated in countless small details of everyday life. The older person, for instance, is permitted to open the conversation when two individuals meet. One young woman is criticized [576] because she is "too forward with older people" and frequently takes the initiative in greetings. When friends embrace, the older acts first.

888 789 Whatever aged men and women do for the young is especially appreciated; the hope is that the actions of the elders may operate as a prayer to secure comparable long life for the child: